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ABSTRACT

In the post-Cold War era, framing U.S. foreign policy discussions is a real challenge. This curriculum unit considers whether international democracy promotion has become the defining objective of U.S. foreign policy and investigates the appropriate role for the United States to play in this period. Students are asked to define U.S. national interest and assess whether democracy promotion efforts serve that interest (Lesson 1); define democracy itself and reflect upon how it is faring around the globe today (Lesson 2); review the tools of foreign policy and decide which might be most effective in promoting democracy (Lesson 3); examine historical documents to look for traces of democracy promotion ideals (Lesson 4); and synthesize what they have learned in a project that requires them to formulate and defend their own foreign policy priorities (Lesson 5). Each lesson contains objectives, key terms, procedures, assessment options, extension activities, and student handouts. A glossary and bibliography, including Web sites, conclude the unit. (BT)

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ED 448 104

Help Your Neighbor, Help Yourself

Global Democracy Promotion & U.S. National Interest

SO 032 360

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A Curriculum Unit for Grades 11-12

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Table of Contents

Goals and Objectives 2

Introduction 3

Lesson One: Defining U.S. National Interest 5–7
Handouts: 1A–F 8–14
- Defining National Interest
- The United States and Poland: Recognizing Solidarity
- The United States and Colombia: Waging the War on Drugs
- The United States and South Africa: Fighting Apartheid
- Does Global Democracy Promotion Serve the U.S. National Interest?
- Article: "Freedom 101"

Lesson Two: Defining Democracy 15–17
Handouts 3A–B 18–19
- Pillars of Democracy
- The Status of Democracy Throughout the World

Lesson Three: The Tools of Foreign Policy 21–23
Handouts 3A–E 24–29
- Political Cartoon: Juggling the Tools of Foreign Policy
- The Tools of Foreign Policy
- State Department Briefing: U.S. – Cuba Relations
- United States Foreign Policy Decisions
- Article: "Five Not-So-Easy Pieces"

Lesson Four: Historical Background—
The Roots of Democracy Promotion in U.S. Foreign Policy 31–32
Handouts 4A–G 33–39
- Phases of American Foreign Policy
- Comparison Chart of Documents of American Foreign Policy
- Monroe Doctrine
- Fourteen Point Plan
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- North Atlantic Treaty

Lesson Five: Mission Foreign Policy 41–42
Handout 5A 43–44
- Mission Foreign Policy

Glossary 45–49

Bibliography 51–53

Goals and Objectives

Goal

This unit will investigate the appropriate role for the United States to play in the post-Cold War world and explore the significance of efforts to promote international democracy.

Objectives

At the end of this unit, students will be able to:

- define and prioritize United States national interests in the areas of economy, security, and ideology.
- list the tools of foreign policy and analyze their effectiveness in various situations.
- define democracy and assess the level of democratic development in a variety of countries, taking into account the complexity inherent in democratic societies.
- read and evaluate historic documents to analyze the progression of American foreign policy from its beginnings, through the Cold War, to the present.
- analyze a specific international crisis and formulate a policy for U.S. response to that crisis.
- assess whether and how global democracy promotion serves U.S. national interest.
- evaluate the defining principles of American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era.
- present persuasive and well-reasoned arguments on a particular foreign policy issue, both orally and in writing.

Introduction

In the post-Cold War era, framing U.S. foreign policy discussions is a real challenge. What exactly are our current priorities—and what should they be? This unit attempts to address those difficult questions by considering whether international democracy promotion has become the defining objective of U.S. foreign policy. In the course of the unit, students will be asked to:

- Define U.S. national interest and assess whether democracy promotion efforts serve that interest—*LESSON 1.*
- Define democracy itself and reflect upon how it is faring around the globe today—*LESSON 2.*
- Review the tools of foreign policy and decide which might be most effective in the promotion of democracy—*LESSON 3.*
- Examine historical documents to look for traces of democracy promotion ideals—*LESSON 4.*
- And finally, synthesize what they have learned in a project that requires them to formulate and defend their own foreign policy priorities—*LESSON 5.*

The lessons are designed to be extremely interactive and encourage students to employ the higher levels of thinking. Among the teaching strategies included are brainstorming, group work, document analysis, role plays, research projects, and simulation.

The lessons are also designed to be flexible on a number of levels. 1) In order to prevent their content from going stale, the lessons are structured to be responsive to developments in the news, as well as to the specific interests of teachers and students. 2) Because space in most curricula is at a premium, the time alloted to complete this unit could vary. Those teachers with only a week to devote could introduce all the key concepts, and those with the luxury of more time could develop the unit into a month-long project. While the lessons and activities are designed to work together, it is also possible that one of them, such as defining democracy, could be used individually to enhance another project. 3) The lessons could provide an up-to-date complement to a variety of standard courses. They might be conducted in conjunction with classes in American history or government, international relations or world studies, or current events, depending on the specifications of the local curriculum. *(Please see the next page for a correlation of the lessons to the performance expectations of the National Council for the Social Studies Curriculum Standards.)*

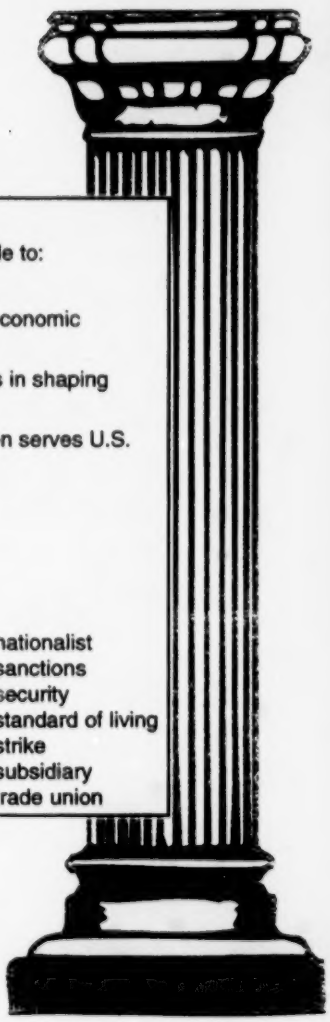
Each lesson contains objectives, key terms, procedures, assessment options, extension activities, and a number of student handouts. A glossary and bibliography, including web sites, can be found in the back of the unit. Key terms are bolded in student handouts and are all defined in the glossary. The lessons are designed for students with a high school reading level, however, the handouts for the extension activities are rather advanced. Teachers can use these extension readings to challenge talented classes, and should be prepared to offer assistance to less advanced students.

We hope that you and your students will find value in these lessons and look forward to your feedback on how this draft can be improved for the final publication.

National Council for the Social Studies Curriculum Standards Performance Expectations for High School Students	Lessons 1	2	3	4	5
STRAND II: TIME, CONTINUITY, AND CHANGE					
C: Identify and describe significant historical periods and patterns of change within and across cultures.					
D: Systematically employ processes of critical historical inquiry to reconstruct and reinterpret the past.					
STRAND III: PEOPLE, PLACES, AND ENVIRONMENTS					
A: Refine mental maps of locales, regions, and the world that demonstrate understanding of relative location, direction, size, and shape.					
STRAND IV: INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT AND IDENTITY					
H: Work independently and cooperatively within groups and institutions to accomplish goals.					
STRAND VI: POWER, AUTHORITY, AND GOVERNANCE					
A: Examine persistent issues involving the rights, roles, and status of the individual in relation to the general welfare.					
C: Analyze and explain ideas and mechanisms to meet needs and wants of citizens, regulate territory, manage conflict, establish order and security, and balance competing conceptions of a just society.					
E: Compare different political systems with that of the United States, and identify representative political leaders from selected historical and contemporary settings.					
F: Analyze and evaluate conditions, actions, and motivations that contribute to the conflict and cooperation within and among nations.					
H: Explain and apply ideas, theories, and modes of inquiry from political science to the examination of persistent issues and social problems.					
I: Evaluate the extent to which governments achieve their stated ideals and policies at home and abroad.					
J: Prepare a public policy paper and present and defend it before an appropriate forum in school or community.					
STRAND IX: GLOBAL CONNECTIONS					
B: Explain conditions and motivations that contribute to conflict, cooperation, and interdependence among groups, societies, and nations.					
D: Analyze the causes, consequences, and possible solutions to persistent, contemporary, and emerging global issues.					
E: Analyze the relationships and tensions between national sovereignty and global interests in such matters as territory, economic development, nuclear and other weapons, use of natural resources, and human rights concerns.					
F: Analyze or formulate policy statements demonstrating an understanding of concerns, standards, issues, and conflicts related to universal human rights.					
H: Illustrate how individual behaviors and decisions connect with global systems.					
STRAND X: CIVIC IDEALS AND PRACTICES					
B: Identify, analyze, interpret, and evaluate sources and examples of citizens' rights and responsibilities.					
C: Locate, access, analyze, organize, synthesize, evaluate, and apply information about selected public issues—identifying, describing, and evaluating multiple points of view.					
D: Practice forms of civic discussion and participation consistent with the ideals of citizens in a democratic republic.					
F: Analyze a variety of public policies and issues from the perspective of formal and informal political actors.					
I: Construct a policy statement and an action plan to achieve one or more goals related to an issue of public concern.					

Lesson 1

Defining U.S. National Interest



The ultimate goal of United States foreign policy is to protect the U.S. national interest abroad. In order to do this, of course, our government must first define the U.S. national interest, and this is much easier said than done. While most would agree that our "interest" falls into the broad categories of protecting the security, economy, and ideology of the U.S., there is far less agreement as to which of these categories is most important. Thus, foreign policy formulation becomes a balancing act, and in the post-Cold War era, many criticize the U.S. government for a lack of clarity in its policy objectives. In this lesson, students will make their own assessment of what U.S. foreign policy priorities should be as they attempt to define the U.S. national interest themselves. Further, they will consider global democracy promotion from an American perspective and decide whether it is an objective that serves the U.S. national interest.

OBJECTIVES

After completing this lesson, students will be able to:

- define United States national interest.
- prioritize among security, ideological, and economic interests.
- describe the role that national interest plays in shaping foreign policy.
- assess whether global democracy promotion serves U.S. national interest.

MATERIALS

Student handouts 1A–F

KEY TERMS

allies	economy	nationalist
altruism	foreign policy	sanctions
apartheid	general strike	security
boycott	humanitarian	standard of living
civil liberties	ideology	strike
democracy	martial law	subsidiary
economic development	national interest	trade union

PROCEDURES

1. To introduce the topic, ask students to think about what is important to them and what their personal interests (wants) are. Do they want clothes? A car? A place to live? Do they want to feel safe walking in their neighborhood? Do they want to be able to listen to whatever music they like? Do they want to be able to form their own opinions? To make their own choices?

   Compile a list of their answers on the board.

   Once you have a broad list of answers on the board, ask the students to come up with some possible category headings that would encompass many of the answers listed. Write the category headings on the board and

ask the class to begin to organize the identified interests (wants) under the appropriate categories. *NOTE: The categories developed should at least roughly relate to economy, security, and ideology. Ideology will probably be the most difficult category for the students to define, so they may need to be reminded of some of the freedoms and rights that Americans tend to think of as fundamental to a happy life.* Which of the students' personal interests are most important? Least important? Do their priorities change in different circumstances?

2. Explain to the students that the topic of today's lesson is "national interest" and that the interests of our nation are not all that different from our personal interests. In fact, both can be broken down in a very similar way. It might even be said that, through voting, the people attempt to ensure that the national interest will be defined in a way that reflects as closely as possible their own personal interests.

   Display the following quotation for the students and explain that you are going to examine it as a class in an attempt to define the United States national interest.

> ***"We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere around the world. The third is freedom from want—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear...anywhere in the world."***
>
> ***—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to Congress, January 6, 1941***

   Ask students to reflect on the quotation and answer the following questions. What national interests does FDR allude to in the quotation? Do these interests fit into the categories we established in our first exercise? If so, list them in the appropriate category. *NOTE: Students may reach the conclusion that freedom of speech and expression and worship fall into the ideology category; freedom from fear falls into the security category; and freedom from want falls into the economy category.*

   Distribute and review Handout 1A, "Defining National Interest" to clarify the specifics of national interest. The descriptions will supplement student definitions to ensure a more complete understanding of the topic. In order to check comprehension, ask students to provide examples of international relations issues that address each category of national interest.

3. Return to the FDR quote and ask students what Roosevelt is implying about the role of the United States in world affairs. Why would an American president be concerned that these freedoms extend "everywhere in the world"? Was he merely being generous with this statement, or did he think that the U.S. might benefit from such a world? How, exactly, might the U.S. benefit?

   Explain to students that many people assert that global democracy promotion, such as FDR might have been advocating, should be the central goal of U.S. foreign policy—and not just for humanitarian or altruistic reasons. Ask students to list as many ways as possible that promoting democracy abroad could help us at home. Encourage them to think in terms of the three categories of national interest.

Show the following quotation and ensure that the students have touched on most of the arguments:

> ***"We led the struggle for democracy because the larger the pool of democracies, the greater our own security and prosperity. Democracies, we know, are less likely to make war on us or on other nations. They tend not to abuse the rights of their people. They make for more reliable trading partners. And each new democracy is a potential ally in the struggle against the challenges of our time—containing ethnic and religious conflict; reducing the nuclear threat; combating terrorism and organized crime; overcoming environmental degradation."***
>
> ***—Anthony Lake, 1995, then director of the U.S. National Security Council***

Ask students whether they agree with Mr. Lake's assertions. Why or why not? Should democracy promotion be a U.S. foreign policy priority? Refer students directly to the title of this unit and ask them whether they believe that by helping our neighbors we might, indeed, help ourselves.

4. Students can now begin to prioritize national interests. Generate a short class discussion by asking the following questions: Which category of national interest do students believe to be most important? Is one more important than another? How might we prioritize these interests? Is it necessary to prioritize the interests? How do you think the government decides which interests are most important? How would we determine what the government's priorities are?

   Divide students into at least three groups and give each group one of the three case studies, Handouts 1B, 1C, and 1D, to review. As students read each case study, have them refer back to Handout 1A, "Defining National Interest" to determine in what way the national interest was served in each case study and in what way the national interest might have been compromised. They can record their conclusions on the lines under the appropriate categories at the bottom of Handout 1A. Each group of students should also evaluate the actions made by the United States government and decide whether they believe the government acted in the best interest of the country. Do they agree with the government's prioritizing of the national interest in each particular case?

   Ask each group to share its analysis with the class regarding its case study. Overall, did the students find that there were incidents in which the categories of national interest were in conflict? Likewise, were there incidents in which the elements of national interest were complementary? Given today's post-Cold War world, should the U.S. be guided more by one set of interests over another? Should each situation be treated individually, or should we develop a set of national interest priorities that guides our foreign policy? What would be the advantages and disadvantages of each method?

ASSESSMENT

- Distribute Handout 1E, "Does global democracy promotion serve the U.S. national interest?" and ask each student to select one of the quotations to be the subject of an essay. The student should use the quotation to help answer the question: "Does global democracy promotion serve the U.S. national interest?"

EXTENSION ACTIVITY

- Distribute Handout 1F, "Freedom 101." Ask students to read the article carefully and answer the questions that follow. Review the answers with the class. *NOTE: The article is written on a fairly high level. Students may need vocabulary or background assistance (see glossary).*

Defining National Interest

Handout 1A

ECONOMY	SECURITY	IDEOLOGY
• Providing citizens with an adequate **standard of living**	• Protecting the nation's borders	• Supporting a way of life at home and promoting it abroad
• Ensuring **economic development** and growth	• Maintaining relations with **allies**	• Protecting the cultural and religious heritage of a nation
• Establishing **trade** relations with other nations	• Ensuring the safety of citizens	• Promoting a system of government **(democracy)**

CASE STUDY ASSESSMENT: *In what ways were these categories of U.S.* ***national interest*** *either served or compromised by the* ***foreign policy*** *decision in question?*

CASE STUDY #1

Handout 1B

Using Handout 1A, "Defining National Interest," evaluate which categories of national interest were served and which may have been compromised or endangered in the following foreign policy case study. Do you agree with the foreign policy decision that was made? Why or why not? If you do not agree, please propose an alternative policy.

THE UNITED STATES AND POLAND: RECOGNIZING SOLIDARITY

Background

In 1981, Ronald Reagan became president of the U.S. At the same time in Poland, a new nationalist movement was gaining momentum. Poland was suffering from economic crisis and political turmoil. In Poland, a Workers' Defense Committee (KOR) had been formed to organize workers into **unions** and use **strikes** to gain power from the government.

After months of struggling with the workers, the Polish government agreed to allow an independent trade union for shipyard workers in Gdansk. This historic event took place on August 31, 1980. In the following weeks, hundreds of unions formed across Poland, adopting the collective name Solidarity. This movement was headed by Lech Walesa.

Solidarity and the Polish government continued to struggle for power, with Solidarity mounting occasional **general strikes** and the Polish government changing leaders. In February of 1981, Poland named a new prime minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who had fought in the U.S.S.R.'s Polish army in World War II. On December 13, 1981, General Jaruzelski fulfilled the Soviet Union's wish and imposed **martial law** in Poland. He rounded up Solidarity leaders and suspended **civil liberties**. Poland remained under military rule for almost two years.

President Reagan decided to take action against General Jaruzelski for his military crackdown in Poland. Reagan targeted the Siberia pipeline project, which was the U.S.S.R.'s largest construction project ever. The pipeline project was a plan to bring Siberian natural gas to such European nations as Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. The project relied on large loans from Western countries and companies. Western investments exceeded $6 billion. The United States' role in the pipeline was smaller than other nations but crucial to its completion.

Foreign Policy Decision

In 1988, President Ronald Reagan banned the exportation of oil and gas equipment to the U.S.S.R.

CASE STUDY #2

Handout 1C

Using Handout 1A, "Defining National Interest," evaluate which categories of national interest were served and which may have been compromised or endangered in the following foreign policy case study. Do you agree with the foreign policy decision that was made? Why or why not? If you do not agree, please propose an alternative policy.

THE UNITED STATES AND COLOMBIA: WAGING THE WAR ON DRUGS

Background

Because of its proximity to the United States, Latin America has often been an area of concern for the U.S. government. During the years that followed World War II, the U.S. government expanded its economic investment in Latin America, deeming that region vital to its own interests and safety.

In the 1980s, as many Latin American countries struggled to build their economies, the drug trafficking industry became very lucrative. As national economies floundered, many Latin American citizens found economic security through the cultivation or delivery of narcotics. This created a new problem for the United States. Drug use was on the rise among U.S. citizens, and Latin American countries produced almost all of the cocaine and four-fifths of the marijuana for the U.S. market.

Colombia was and remains at the heart of the narcotics industry. The Colombian government has had difficulty retaining control of the country because many Colombian drug lords have armies of their own and have taken control of entire regions of the country. Farmers in these regions grow crops such as cocoa, from which cocaine is extracted. It is more lucrative for these farmers to be part of the narcotics industry than for them to produce legitimate agricultural crops.

Foreign Policy Decision

The United States has provided the Colombian government with upwards of $1 billion in aid to help fight guerilla soldiers who protect drug lords and to patrol large regions of the country. Some of the money is also designated to fund programs to help farmers move away from producing narcotics toward producing other crops.

CASE STUDY #3

Handout 1D

Using Handout 1A, "Defining National Interest," evaluate which categories of national interest were served and which may have been compromised or endangered in the following foreign policy case study. Do you agree with the foreign policy decision that was made? Why or why not? If you do not agree, please propose an alternative policy.

THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA: FIGHTING APARTHEID

Background

In 1910, South Africa won self-rule from Britain. This freedom was, however, limited to the white population. The white minority passed measures to keep the black population in an inferior position politically and economically. In 1948, the Afrikaner National Party won a majority in the all-white parliament of South Africa. The party created a system of strict racial separation called **apartheid**.

Black South Africans were severely restricted under the system of apartheid. For example, blacks had to get permission from the government to travel within the country. Blacks were also relegated to living in the most arid, unproductive regions of South Africa. Furthermore, mixed marriages were banned and most public facilities were segregated.

The African National Congress (ANC), an organization that was founded in 1912 to combat white rule, began organizing anti-apartheid marches, **boycotts** and other forms of protest. In 1960, 69 people were killed and 180 were injured by police while participating in a protest in Sharpeville, a black town in South Africa. In the aftermath of this massacre, the government outlawed the ANC and tightened its control over **trade unions** and other organizations opposed to apartheid. Anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela was put in jail, where he stayed for 27 years.

In the 1980s, many U.S. citizens became vocal about their opposition to American investment in South Africa. Largely as a result of this domestic pressure, the U.S. and other governments imposed economic **sanctions** on South Africa in an attempt to overthrow the system of apartheid. This move hurt the South African **economy** but also hurt some American corporations that had holdings and investments in South Africa.

In 1990, the South African government, under new president F.W. de Klerk, recognized the need for political and social reform. The ban on the ANC was lifted and Mandela was released from prison. In 1994, the system of apartheid collapsed, a non-racial government was elected, and Nelson Mandela was elected president.

Foreign Policy Decision

During the 1980s the United States government imposed economic **sanctions** against South Africa.

Does global democracy promotion serve the U.S. national interest?

Handout 1E

Please answer the above question in an essay utilizing one or more of the following quotations:

"Freedom is an indivisible word. If we want to enjoy it, we must be prepared to extend it to everyone, whether they are rich or poor, whether they agree with us or not, no matter what their race or the color of their skin." —*Wendell Wilkie*

"The greatest meliorator of the world is selfish, huckstering Trade." —*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

"It is not enough to merely defend democracy. To defend it may be to lose it; to extend it is to strengthen it. Democracy is not a property; it is an idea." —*Hubert H. Humphrey*

"A modern democracy is a tyranny whose borders are undefined." —*Norman Mailer*

"Democracy don't rule the world/You'd better get that in your head/This world is ruled by violence/ But I guess that's better left unsaid." —*Bob Dylan*

"After each war there is a little less democracy to save." —*Brooks Atkinson*

"If you live among wolves you have to act like a wolf." —*Nikita Krushchev*

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." —*Martin Luther King, Jr.*

"I think it may be admitted as a general and constant rule that among civilized nations the warlike passions will become more rare and less intense in proportion as social conditions are more equal." —*Alexis de Tocqueville*

"A state that denies its citizens their basic rights becomes a danger to its neighbors as well: internal arbitrary rule will be reflected in arbitrary external relations. The suppression of public opinion, the abolition of public competition for power and its public exercise opens the way for the state power to arm itself in any way it sees fit....A state that does not hesitate to lie to its own people will not hesitate to lie to other states." —*Václav Havel*

"As we enter a new era of democracy, the old arguments of idealism vs. realism mush be replaced by idealism plus realism....I think history illustrates amply that the American people will not support for long a policy that violates their sense of humane values, no matter how it is justified as being in the national interest." —*James Baker*

Is China today's Poland?

Freedom 101

Handout 1F

By ADAM MICHNIK

IN DECEMBER 1981, after the Polish government imposed **martial law** in response to the Solidarity uprising, Ronald Reagan announced he would levy economic **sanctions** on Poland. As a member of Solidarity, I applauded Reagan's decision. After all, our movement, built by millions of people seeking national and civic freedom, had, through a wholly arbitrary act by Poland's ruling generals, been declared a criminal organization. Its members were either carted off to jail or forced into hiding. America's decision to penalize the Polish government for terrorizing its own citizens seemed eminently reasonable.

My opinion, however, was hardly universal. The sanctions provided the generals with a convenient scapegoat on which to blame Poland's deep economic problems. And even the nation's Catholic bishops, a source of great moral authority, opposed the sanctions, arguing that they harmed not just the regime but all of Polish society.

Nevertheless, I believed then, and I believe today, that America's decision was sensible and effective. For one thing, it offered those of us in the democratic opposition a dramatic sign that we were not alone—indeed, that the world's most powerful nation was our **ally**. The sanctions also sent a pointed message to the ruling generals: Unless they took substantial steps toward political liberalization, they would not enjoy normal dealings with the civilized world.

In December 1986, the Reagan administration announced it would repeal the sanctions. Once again I applauded—not because I had changed my view of sanctions per se but because of the process by which the administration lifted them. First, representatives of the State Department came to Warsaw, where, in the residence of U.S. ambassador John Davies, they met with representatives of Solidarity—still officially illegal—including our leader, Lech Walesa. The Americans asked us how we felt about a repeal of sanctions. We replied that such a repeal should be accompanied by a clear declaration of American support for Solidarity and for the process of democratic change. We also said the United States should make clear that the lifting of sanctions was approved by the democratic opposition. And this was exactly how it was done. Within three years the regime in Warsaw had crumbled.

The story of American sanctions against Poland illustrates a banal but important truth, one worth remembering during the current debate over U.S. policy toward China: There is no universal method for forcing authoritarian regimes to democratize. In the fight for freedom, two things must go hand in hand—uncompromising condemnation of dictatorial regimes and great flexibility in choosing the methods of opposing them.

SO WHEN CAN sanctions work effectively? Against a regime like Stalin's Soviet Union or Hoxha's Albania they simply cannot. Both Stalin and Hoxha consciously chose to isolate their nations from the rest of the world. Sanctions would have been redundant. Beyond making their moral opposition to these regimes known, there was little Western democracies could do.

Brezhnev's Soviet Union, on the other hand, like Jaruzelski's Poland, depended on Western capital and Western credit for economic survival. As a result, both regimes were susceptible to economic pressure. In particular, because Poland enjoyed most-favored-nation trading status with the United States, the revocation of this status produced significant economic pain. To be able to revoke it, however, America first had to grant it. In other words, in order to exert economic pressure on a dictatorship, it is first necessary to enter into an economic relationship with it.

But this, in turn, creates moral and political dilemmas. Is it legitimate to maintain extensive economic contact with a country where basic human rights are crushed on a daily basis? Will companies employ complicated geopolitical reasoning to justify ruthless and cynical business practices? There is not, and perhaps there cannot be, a simple answer to these questions.

As a result it is not easy to say what policy the democratic world should adopt with regard to China. China is no ordinary country. For one thing, it is the size of a continent. And the more China links itself to the global market, the more its society will emerge from isolation. At the same time, Beijing continues brutally to repress the nation's meager democratic opposition.

True, from time to time the Chinese government makes a small concession to Western public opinion by freeing a few opposition members from jail and allowing them to travel outside the country. And it helps that Western public opinion carefully follows the fates of these dissidents and that international organizations, and even governments, speak out in their defense.

This pressure, however, is only effective to the extent that Beijing believes it is in China's national interest to have Western investors. And the recent trend in that direction was by no

ADAM MICHNIK, author of *Letters from Prison*, is editor-in-chief of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Poland's leading daily newspaper. Copyright the *New Republic*, May 29, 2000. Used with permission.

Handout 1F

means historically inevitable. The impulse to open to the world often goes hand in hand with the impulse to close off from it. Over the last century, for instance, the Communist countries of Europe demonstrated two evolutionary trends: toward a market **economy** and increased political openness, and toward chauvinistic aggression and authoritarianism.

Communist China may be similar. And to support its move toward market and political liberalization it is necessary to be present on the Chinese stage. This certainly does not mean cynically tolerating dictatorial government there. It does mean, however, radically broadening the avenues for influencing China's evolution. Imposing sanctions against China today may end up having the same effect as the current embargo on Cuba—namely, strengthening rather than weakening its jingoistic and anti-market tendencies.

There are, therefore, two dangers against which democratic leaders must guard as they formulate their approach to Beijing. The first is a policy of extreme realpolitik, in which concerns about Chinese repression are shunted aside in favor of efforts to strengthen economic ties. Such a policy might extend the life of the Chinese dictatorship, just as years ago it extended the rule of military dictatorships in Latin America. On the other hand, a politics centered entirely on human rights presents an equal danger—for such a policy can easily dissolve into empty rhetoric, from which little more than moral indignation results. In short, while moral indignation against dictatorships should be an irremovable component of the international politics practiced by democratic nations, it can't replace international politics. Politics is, after all, about what is actually possible.

COMPLICATING THE DEBATE over China is the unresolved debate about what finally caused Soviet communism to fall. American realists say it was détente, which calmed communism's aggressive tendencies and finally forced Moscow into discussions on human rights. American liberals say it was President Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski's emphasis on human rights. Republican hawks say it was the unyielding stance taken by Reagan, whose costly "Star Wars" plan terrified the "evil empire" into capitulating. In the Vatican they say John Paul II overthrew communism; in Moscow they say Gorbachev did; in Afghanistan nobody doubts it was the mujahideen who dug communism's grave. Meanwhile we Poles are certain that Solidarity drove the nails into communism's coffin.

Each of us is probably somewhat right. If we are to discover a more expansive formula, however, it is necessary to remember that the fundamental tools of communism are deceit and violence. Effective anti-communism, therefore, requires that we unmask and dismantle first one and then the other. And this means there can be no return to the double standards of the past, when anti-communism was all that was required to gain a regime entrance into the family of democratic nations. For it is never possible to honestly oppose Communist lies and violence while simultaneously tolerating anti-Communist lies and violence. A capitalist Chinese dictatorship is the moral equivalent of a Communist Chinese dictatorship. Repression, whether right-wing or left-wing, is never justified. And it is against all such repression that the community of democratic nations must struggle. Yesterday in Warsaw, today in Beijing.

Please answer the following questions about this article on a separate piece of paper:

1. Why does the author ask if China is today's Poland? What similarities does he see between the two countries?
2. According to the author, what actions taken by the U.S. encouraged the collapse of communism in Poland?
3. What lessons for U.S. foreign policy does the author offer from the Polish experience?
4. What U.S. national interests are at stake in China?
5. Applying the author's lessons, what steps do you think the U.S. should take with regard to China?

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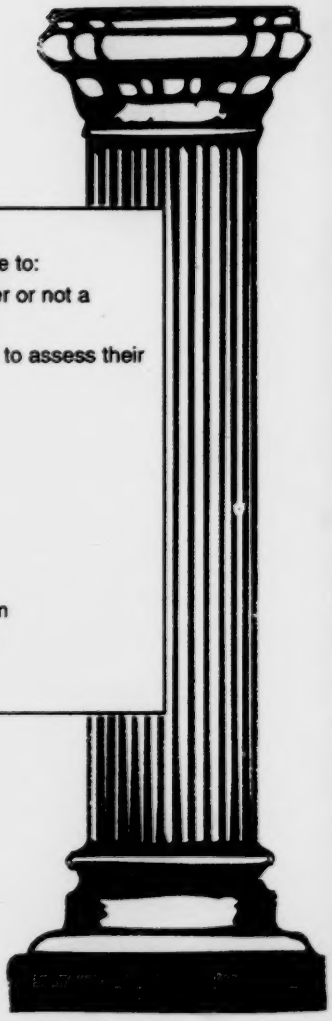
Lesson 2

Defining Democracy



One of the goals of U.S. foreign policy is to promote democracy around the world. In order to discuss the promotion of democracy, it is necessary to know what a democracy looks like. What are the characteristics and behaviors that constitute a democratic society? Is it necessary for a country to exhibit all of these characteristics in order to be called a democracy? Through the examination of specific scenarios, students will develop a definition of democracy, then apply that definition to countries around the world. Students will evaluate the impact that the spread of democracy may have on individual countries and on the world as a whole.

OBJECTIVES

After completing this lesson, students will be able to:

- list criteria that can be used to judge whether or not a country is democratic.
- apply these criteria to countries of the world to assess their level of democratic development.
- explain the complexity of democracy.

MATERIALS

Student handouts 2A–B
Country briefing information

KEY TERMS

corruption
economic freedom
human rights
ideology
multiparty system
national interest
rule of law
transparency

PROCEDURES

1. Ask students to review some of the national interests of the United States. Have them be most specific about ideology—the U.S. wants to promote a transition to and strengthening of democratic governments worldwide. Tell students that in order to discuss democracy promotion, it is important to know what democracy is. They will likely think that they already know, so tell them you will give them a few examples to consider. Offer the class the following situations and ask students to decide whether the society is democratic.

   - Tutonia has a president who was elected fifty years ago. The people will elect a new president when the current one dies.
   - In Elingo, the head of state is also the head of the church to which almost all of the citizens belong.
   - In Marcona, the president has the right to dissolve parliament and the courts and call for new elections when the nation is in crisis.

- In Vardona, all of the people are required to vote. The Minister of Information counts the votes in private and announces the results.
- In Darva, the majority Ipon people have passed laws requiring that the minority Apon people all live in one part of the country.
- In Arconia, law enforcement officers randomly read individuals' e-mail to monitor for potential terrorist activity.
- In Tanu, fewer than fifty percent of the eligible voters typically participate in national elections.
- In Ortua, all media outlets must report to the government.
- In Valonia, traditional culture does not permit girls to attend school or women to participate in public life.
- The president of Keroga appoints only family and close friends to high-level government positions.
- The government of Torobuna controls the amount of goods that are produced by key industries in order to keep prices low for consumers.

As you go through the examples, ask students to explain their judgments. Create two columns on the board, labeling one "What democracy is" and the other "What democracy is not." Record a list of criteria the students are using to judge democratic societies. Refine the list throughout the discussion, so that you end up with broad characteristics that can be used to identify a democracy. Which of these characteristics do students consider to be the most important? Can a society with some of the characteristics from the "not" list still be considered democratic? Have the students think of real-world examples.

Share with students Handout 2A, "Pillars of Democracy." Explain any concepts with which they may be unfamiliar. Compare these to the list they developed, noting similarities and differences between the two lists.

2. By now it may be clear to students that there are varying "degrees" of democracy. Countries fall somewhere in the range of these four categories:

   Entrenched: meets nearly all of the criteria for a democracy
   Evolving: slowly but surely meeting criteria
   False: a democracy in name only; criteria are only minimally met
   Opposing: doesn't meet criteria, seems to be opposed to democracy

   Select several countries that will be of interest to the students. Break students into small groups and assign each group one country. Give the students country briefing information. For up-to-date, comprehensive resources, try the CIA *World Factbook* (www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook.html), the Department of State's background and human rights reports (www.state.gov/www/regions.html), or the Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org.html). Have students read the materials that you provide, looking for indicators of a healthy democracy. *NOTE: Time permitting, this would be an excellent lesson to conduct in the library, where students could locate their own references.* Using the criteria established, have each group place its country in one of the four categories above. Have the groups present their work to the rest of the class, explaining why they assigned their country to a particular category.

3. Distribute Handout 2B, "The Status of Democracy Throughout the World." Discuss the idea of free, partly free, and not free societies. Draw students' attention to the charts at the bottom of the page. Give students a minute to look them over, then ask them to explain how there can be 120 democracies in the world but only 85 free countries. Why does the chart refer to *electoral* democracies? Are elections a guarantee of a democratic system of government? What other factors measure the health of a democracy? What is the difference between democracy and freedom? Discuss the complexity of democracy. Is there any such thing as a perfect democracy? How could a country be democratic but not free? Can a country be free but not democratic?

ASSESSMENT

- Ask students to analyze the United States using their democracy criteria. In what areas does the U.S. perform best? In what areas do we need improvement?

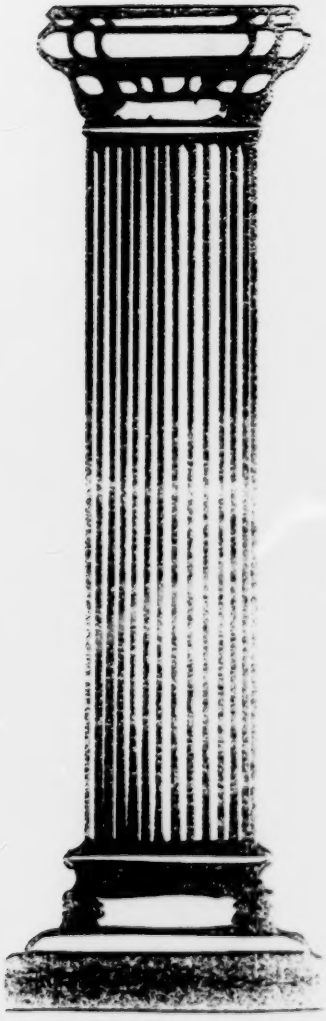
EXTENSION ACTIVITY

- Elaborate on the "degrees of democracy" exercise mentioned above. Assign each student a country to research on his or her own. Ask students to analyze their country and assign it to the proper category (entrenched, evolving, false, or opposing). In class, develop a color-coded world map, using a different color for each category. A blank map could be filled in, or colored pushpins could be placed in a wall map. Color in all of the countries that the students have researched, including the ones they did in class. *NOTE: For reference, please see the Map of Freedom (www.freedomhouse.org).* Once the map is completed, review it with students, looking for patterns of democracy development.

- Conduct a "Pillars Auction." Divide the class into four groups and give each group 50 points to use as currency. Have each team consult Handout 2A, "Pillars of Democracy." The teams must decide which of the pillars are most important; if they had to live in a society in which only a few of the pillars existed, which ones would they want? Once they prioritize the pillars, the teams should devise a strategy for accumulating the pillars they feel are most important, keeping in mind that they have only 50 points to spend. As you auction off each pillar, have the teams bid on them using their points. When all of the pillars have been purchased, or the teams are out of points, discuss which pillars the teams think are most important and why.

Pillars of Democracy

Handout 2A



Citizen participation

Accountability and **transparency**

Regular, free, and fair elections

Economic freedom

Multiparty system

Rule of law

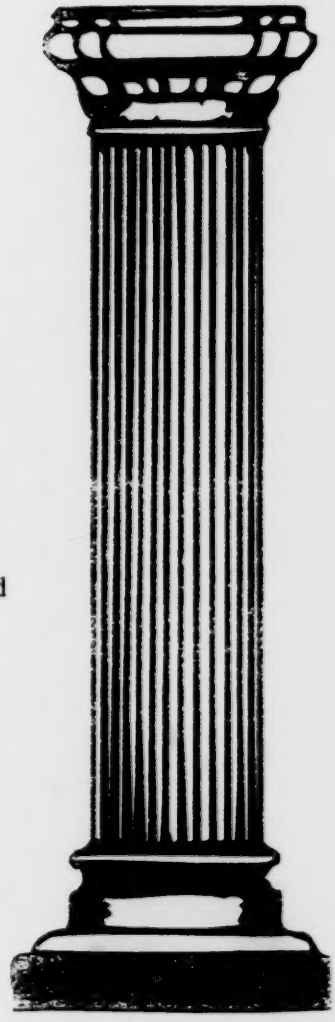
Government based upon consent of the governed

Majority rule

Minority rights

Guarantee of basic **human rights**

Constitutional limits on government



The Status of Democracy Throughout the World

Handout 2B

In Free countries citizens enjoy a high degree of political and civil freedom. Partly Free countries are characterized by some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties, often in a context of **corruption**, weak **rule of law**, ethnic strife or civil war. In Not Free countries, the political process is tightly controlled and basic freedoms are denied.

In 2000, there are:

- 2.324 billion people living in Free societies, representing 38.90% of the world's population
- 1.529 billion people living in Partly Free societies, representing 25.58% of the world's population
- 2.122 billion people living in Not Free societies, representing 35.51% of the world's population

TRACKING DEMOCRACY

Year	Electoral Democracies
1989	69
1994	108
2000.	120

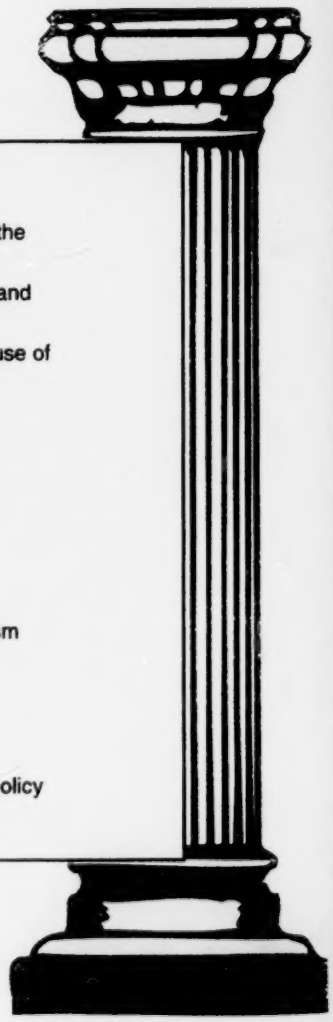
GLOBAL TRENDS IN FREEDOM

Year	Free	Partly Free	Not Free
1989	61	39	68
1994	72	63	55
2000	85	60	47

Source: Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org)

Lesson 3

The Tools of Foreign Policy



United States foreign policy can be viewed as a complex international game of chess, in which the government must make a series of moves to maintain its advantage. Success is measured in the advancement of U.S. national interest and foreign policy goals. The pieces that must be moved skillfully around this global board represent the tools of foreign policy. To compete in this game, a player must thoroughly understand the wide range of foreign policy tools available. In this lesson, students will become familiar with the spectrum of foreign policy tools ranging from diplomacy to military force. Students will examine the characteristics of these tools of foreign policy, list their advantages and disadvantages, and discuss what factors influence the selection of the proper tools. Ultimately, they will assess which tools might be the most effective in global democracy promotion efforts.

OBJECTIVES

After completing this lesson, students will be able to:

- list a wide range of foreign policy tools available in the pursuit of U.S. national interest.
- place the tools along a spectrum of escalating risk and severity.
- analyze the advantages and disadvantages of the use of various foreign policy tools to promote democracy.

MATERIALS

Student handouts 3A–E

KEY TERMS

adversary
alliance
Bay of Pigs
bilateral treaty
boycott
civil society
Cold War
Cuban Missile Crisis
diplomat
diplomatic recognition
embargo
foreign aid
human rights
immigration
Mariel Boatlift
Marxism–Leninism
migration
propaganda
Radio Marti
sanction
summit
tools of foreign policy
treaty
TV Marti

PROCEDURES

1. Ask students what their goals or self-interests in this class are. After eliciting their answers, ask them what steps they could take to accomplish these goals. Encourage students to think of as many ways as possible that they might, for instance, get a good grade. Explain that some steps will be more extreme and risky than others.

   Place on the board the following spectrum: **LOW RISK——————————HIGH RISK**

   As students respond, have them place their answers in the appropriate place along this spectrum. Ask students to explain why some steps would be more or less risky (e.g., doing homework versus blackmailing the teacher). Which steps would most likely lead to the achievement of their goals for this class?

Explain that nations have a similarly wide range of options available to them in their pursuit of foreign policy goals. In order to protect their economic, security, and ideological interests, nations employ a variety of foreign policy tools.

2. To stimulate students' thoughts on this topic, distribute Handout 3A, "Juggling the Tools of U.S. Foreign Policy." Have students answer the following: What type of document is this? What do the balls and plates represent? What does the document illustrate about the use of foreign policy tools? Through discussion of the cartoon, ensure that students have a working understanding of each of the tools. Distribute Handout 3B, "The Tools of Foreign Policy" to assist with this review. Employ as many real-world examples as possible to help students apply the concepts.

   Create another spectrum on the board, similar to the one above. Ask students to put the foreign policy tools in order of increasing severity or risk. Ask them if they think that only one tool should be used in a given international issue, or if a series of escalating or de-escalating tools would be more effective. Given the number of tools available, how do policymakers decide which tool to use? How might competing national interests influence the selection of tools?

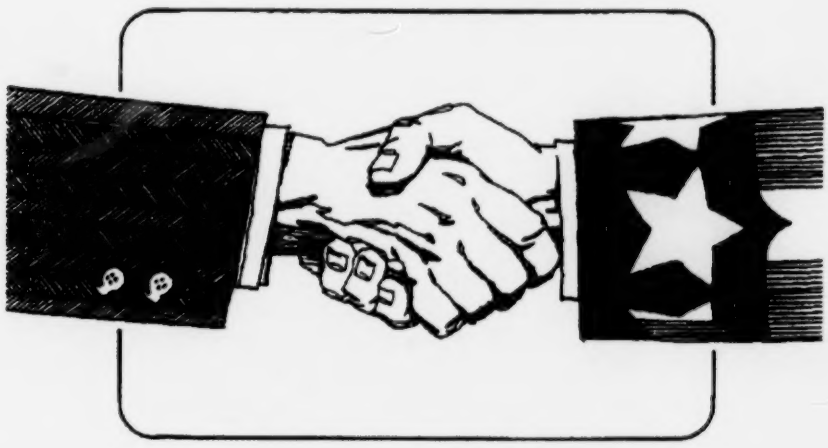
3. Now begin to help the students link the tools of foreign policy to global democracy promotion. Which tools might be most effective in the effort to promote democracy? Are some of the tools themselves more democratic than others? Are there some tools that a democratic nation should avoid using altogether?

   Explain to students that they will examine a case study that illustrates the use of many different foreign policy tools in the promotion of democracy. Break students into small groups and distribute Handout 3C, "U.S.–Cuba Relations." Ask students to read the State Department briefing and answer the questions that follow. *NOTE: Students may need explanation of some specific references such as the Bay of Pigs. See glossary.* Review responses with the class, drawing attention to the quotation by Madeleine Albright:

   "The policy of the United States is clear. We want a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba. It is that simple. It is that unshakable. And towards that goal, we will never compromise our principles, nor cease our efforts."

   —Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, February 27, 1998

   Do the students agree with Albright's goal for U.S.–Cuba relations? Is the system of government in Cuba any of our business? Should the United States have a similar goal for all non-democratic countries?



ASSESSMENT

- Ask students to select one of the tools of foreign policy and design a political cartoon showing that tool being used, either well or poorly.

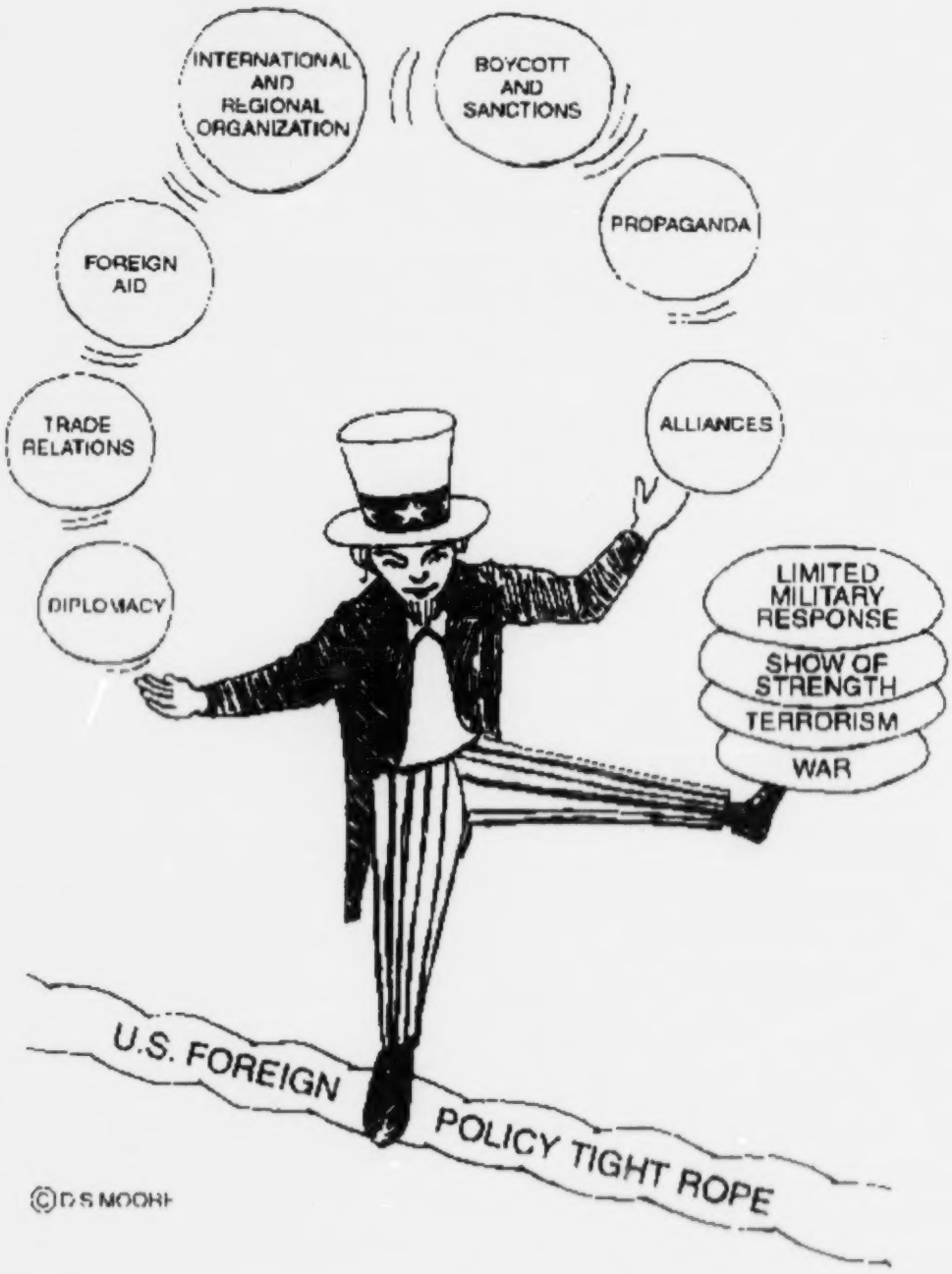
EXTENSION ACTIVITY

- Distribute Handout 3D, "United States Foreign Policy Decisions," and ask each student to choose one international situation in which the student feels that the United States took the wrong course of action. Have students each write an essay briefly explaining why they disagree with the U.S. action taken and describing which tools of foreign policy they would have used instead.

- Break the class into five groups. Distribute Handout 3E, "Five Not-So-Easy Pieces." After students have read the article, assign each group one of the author's questions, which are outlined in the second paragraph of the article. Ask each group to do some research on its question and make a presentation to the class. Presentations should include an explanation of what is at stake in each question, likely outcomes of each choice, and an assessment of the best choice for the United States to make. What is the author's opinion? What is the group's opinion? *NOTE: The article is written on a high reading level. Students may need vocabulary or background assistance (see glossary).*

Handout 3A

THE ACT OF JUGGLING THE TOOLS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY



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The Tools of Foreign Policy

Handout 3B

Alliances: multilateral military agreements among nations to protect one another in case of attack by an **adversary**

Boycotts, Sanctions, Embargos: actions, such as refusal to buy certain goods or participate in international events, taken against nations in order to force policy changes

Diplomatic Relations: formal contacts between national governments

- Negotiations and **Treaties**
- **Summits**
- **Diplomatic Recognition**
- Recalling and Expelling **Diplomats**
- Educational, Cultural and Scientific Exchanges
- Elections Monitoring

Foreign Aid: assistance provided to other nations to foster economic development, gain and protect allies, and promote stability

- Economic Aid
- Military Aid
- Humanitarian Aid
- Technology Transfers

Global and Regional Organizations: organizations that nations join to address common problems and present a unified front in the international arena

Military Force: the direct, physical attempt to gain or reclaim territory, extend power over another group of people, spread an ideal, or settle a dispute

- War
- Limited Military Response
- Show of Force
- Terrorism
- Covert Operations

Propaganda: one-sided or exaggerated information used by a nation to gain both national and international support for its policies or to discredit the policies of an **adversary**

Trade Relations: the formal exchange of goods or services between nations

- Trade Agreements
- Establishment of Trade Relations
- Restrictions on Trade

Source: Close Up Foundation

*Please read the following excerpt from the U.S. Department of State Website (www.state.gov) and answer the questions regarding the **tools of foreign policy.***

U.S.–CUBA RELATIONS

Handout 3C

History

The relationship between the United States and Cuba for the last 40 years has been marked by tension and confrontations. The United States recognized the new Cuban government, headed by Fidel Castro, on January 7, 1959. However, bilateral relations deteriorated rapidly as the regime expropriated U.S. properties and moved towards adoption of a one-party **Marxist-Leninist** system. As a result, the United States established an **embargo** on Cuba in October 1960 and broke diplomatic relations the following January. Tensions between the two governments peaked during the April 1961 **"Bay of Pigs"** invasion and the October 1962 **missile crisis**.

Cuba established close ties with the Soviet Union and served as a Soviet surrogate in Africa and several countries in Latin America, which fueled **cold war** tensions and kept the bilateral relationship distant during the 1960s. In the 1970s, during the Nixon administration, the United States and Cuba began to explore normalizing relations, but the talks were suspended in 1975 when Cuba launched a large-scale intervention in Angola. The United States and Cuba did establish interests sections in their respective capitals in September 1977 to facilitate consular relations and provide a venue for dialogue, and both currently operate under the protection of the Embassy of Switzerland. Cuban international entanglements in the 1970s, such as deploying troops to Ethiopia and allowing Soviet forces on the island, continued to strain bilateral relations.

In the 1980s the focus of friction in U.S.-Cuban relations shifted to include **immigration**, as well as Cuba's international engagements, when a **migration** crisis unfolded. In April 1980 an estimated ten thousand Cubans stormed the Peruvian embassy in Havana seeking political asylum. Eventually, the Cuban government allowed 125,000 Cubans to illegally depart for the United States from the port of Mariel, an incident known as the **"Mariel boatlift."** A number of criminals and mentally ill persons were involuntarily included. Quiet efforts to explore the prospects for improving relations were initiated in 1981-82 under the Reagan administration, but ceased as Cuba continued to intervene in Latin America. In 1983, the United States and regional allies forced the withdrawal of the Cuban presence in Grenada.

In 1984, the United States and Cuba negotiated an agreement to resume normal immigration, interrupted in the wake of the 1980 Mariel boatlift, and to return to Cuba those persons who had arrived during the boatlift who were "excludable" under U.S. law. Cuba suspended this agreement in May 1985 following the U.S. initiation of **Radio Marti** broadcasts to the island, but it was reinstated in November 1987. In March 1990, **TV Marti** transmissions began to Cuba.

The 1990s witnessed another migration crisis that set back U.S.-Cuban relations. When demonstrations fueled by food shortages and prolonged unannounced blackouts erupted in Havana in August 1994, the Cuban Government responded by allowing some 30,000 Cubans to set sail for the United States, many in unsafe boats and rafts, which resulted in a number of deaths at sea. The two countries in September 1994 and May 1995 signed migration accords with the goal of cooperating to ensure safe, legal, and orderly migration.

On February 24, 1996, further worsening relations, the Cuban military shot down two U.S. registered civil aircraft in international airspace, killing three U.S. citizens and one U.S. resident. The unlawful and unwarranted attack on two unarmed U.S. civilian aircrafts resulted in the deaths of Armando Alejandre Jr., Carlos Alberto Costa, Mario M. de la Peña, and Pablo Morales. Immediately after this brutal act, and in response to this violation of international aviation law, Congress and President Clinton passed the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, also known as the Libertad Act. The legislation, among other provisions, codified the U.S. trade embargo into law and imposed additional **sanctions** on the Cuban regime. As President Clinton stated, the Libertad Act "... is a clear statement of our determination to respond to attacks on U.S. nationals and of our continued commitment to stand by the Cuban people in their peaceful struggle for freedom."

Present Policy

The fundamental goal of United States policy toward Cuba is to promote a peaceful transition to a stable, democratic form of government and respect for **human rights**. Our policy has two fundamental components: maintaining pressure on the Cuban Government for change through the embargo and the Libertad Act while providing humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people, and working to aid the development of **civil society** in the country.

---

1. Identify the foreign policy tools used by the U.S. in the past 40 years of relations with Cuba.
2. Explain the factors that influenced the selection of the various tools.
3. On February 27, 1998, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said, "The policy of the United States is clear. We want a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba. It is that simple. It is that unshakable. And towards that goal, we will never compromise our principles, nor cease our efforts." What tools will be needed in the future to accomplish this goal?

United States Foreign Policy Decisions

Handout 3D

Please select a U.S. foreign policy decision with which you disagree. You may choose from this list or draw an example from your knowledge of recent history. Briefly explain why you disagree with the U.S. actions taken and describe which ***tools of foreign policy*** *you would have used instead.*

- Invading Grenada (1983)
- Providing **foreign aid** to Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991)
- Passing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (1993)
- Occupying Haiti (1994)
- Providing aid to famine-devastated Ethiopia (1994)
- Monitoring elections following the end of apartheid in South Africa (1994)
- Intervening in Somalia (1992-94)
- Sending Elian Gonzalez back to Cuba (2000)
- Launching NATO air strikes against Serbian troops in Kosovo (1999)
- Sending ships into the Taiwan straits (1996)
- Brokering a peace agreement in Northern Ireland (1998)
- Opening formal diplomatic relations with Vietnam (1997)
- Voting not to sign the U.N. Land Mines Treaty (1998)
- Launching unilateral air strikes against Baghdad during the Persian Gulf War (1991)
- Granting Normalized Permanent Trade Relations to China (2000)

Five Not-So-Easy Pieces

Handout 3E

BY RICHARD N. HAASS

American foreign policy discussion today is not so much a single debate as debates. At least five principle debates are taking place—or at least should be. How they are resolved will go a long way toward determining both what takes the place of containment as a means of organizing international relations and what the role of the United States in the post-**Cold War** world will be.

The five essential sets of questions involve the proper priorities for foreign policy; the extent to which the United States should enlist others in pursuing these priorities; how the instruments of foreign policy should be used; what resources will be required and how they should be distributed; and how policy itself should be made.

The range of American foreign policy priorities is considerable. Potential emphases include encouraging democracy exports; maintaining American primacy; encouraging restraint in inter-state relations; and avoiding foreign policy entanglements. Although a foreign policy can reflect more than one of these directions, priorities must be established, because trade-offs and opportunity costs are often unavoidable.

At its core the second question is how much the United States should try to do largely or entirely on its own—unilaterally—and how much in cooperation with others. The choice is a great deal more complicated than that, however, as the multilateral option in fact subsumes multiple approaches, including using the United Nations and other international institutions, **alliances** and other regional organizations, and coalitions of those able and willing to act.

The third set of questions involves the instruments of foreign policy, which include public and private diplomacy, military force, **sanctions**, incentives, and covert action. In every instance, questions arise about whether and how to use particular tools. Policymakers must constantly assess whether acting with a particular instrument in a particular fashion makes more sense than using others in other ways—or than doing nothing at all.

The fourth debate is over resources. Elsewhere in these pages Michael O'Hanlon highlights the choices facing the United States in the realm of defense. Similar assessments could be written about the dollars devoted to intelligence, **foreign assistance**, and diplomacy. In every case, it is necessary to address not simply how much should be spent but how it is spent.

The fifth and last debate involves how foreign policy is made. Are procedures and institutions that for the most part developed in a very different context—a world divided by Cold War and fundamentally less global than our own—still adequate for the challenges facing the United States today? If not, what changes should be made by the executive branch, Congress, or both?

All five debates are important. At the same time, they are often obscured by specific foreign policy issues. "Unpack" the debate over China policy and you will see that at the core is the question of foreign policy priorities. Much the same can be said of debates surrounding Kosovo and other humanitarian interventions. Likewise, controversy surrounding the use of economic sanctions reflects disagreements over both the wisdom of unilateral action and the relative value of particular tools.

Of the five sets of questions, the most important are the first two, which reflect the purposes of the United States and its basic approach to the world. The latter three debates—matters more of instrumentality, implementation, and process—while critical to the success of policy, are less fundamental. For that reason this essay will emphasize the debates over priorities and approaches.

To What End?

The question of priorities is another way of asking what the United States should do with its primacy. Although a world of democratic, market-oriented states would obviously be desirable, bringing it about is likely beyond our capacity. Moreover, other issues—stemming the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, avoiding the outbreak of war, protecting core economic stakes—are simply more important. Interests need to take precedence over concerns. Much the same holds for a humanitarian emphasis. However important, it too can be a luxury that can impair the ability to protect necessities.

A foreign policy based on promoting exports also has major shortcomings. Because trade and investment flows require stability, an export-based policy can all too easily be overwhelmed by political and military instability. Just as important, a focus on exports is likely to lead to policies that make little economic sense—because an export-based policy tends to increase the role of governments in trade—and can imperil the rest of relationships as trade frictions overwhelm all else.

Nor is the policy that seeks to maintain American primacy as an end in itself likely to succeed. The United States cannot dictate the course of other societies, preventing them in the process from becoming more powerful and assertive. What is more, changes taking place within American society are likely to make consensus as to the ideal means and ends of policy more difficult to achieve. This, too, is likely to weaken the position of the United States relative to others over time.

What might be described as the opposite alternative—minimalism or neo-isolationism—is arguably more doable but less desirable. Although doing less abroad would be less costly

Richard N. Haass is vice president and director of the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program and the author of *The Reluctant Sheriff: The United States after the Cold War* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1997). Copyright *Brookings Review*, Spring 2000. Used with permission.

in the near term, over time it could prove terribly expensive. The United States cannot insulate itself in a world that is ever more global. Missiles, people germs, terrorists, ideas, drugs, funds, and goods all show little respect for state boundaries. Moreover, an absence of American activism will create vacuums that will be filled by forces that in some cases will be hostile to ourselves, creating the likelihood of conflict down the road.

A final alternative, one that often comes under the banner of realism, emphasizes order among rather than within states. While rightly focusing on the greatest threats to peace and prosperity, realism has little to offer when it comes to dealing with internal sources of instability or to human problems. Indeed, its very narrowness makes it unattractive to many Americans who will only support a foreign policy with a purpose that transcends balancing power and maintaining peace devoid of justice.

Which orientation makes the most sense? Realism should be at the core, and toward that end the United States should work to bring about a world where military force is used only sparingly to resolve disputes between nations, where stocks of weapons of mass destruction are reduced, and where trade is conducted according to rules rather than results. These are the areas where the most important U.S. interests are engaged and where it is possible to design and implement policies to protect them. At the same time, the United States should promote democracy and markets to the extent feasible and do what it can to alleviate human suffering when it is truly awful, when it is possible to do some good at a reasonable cost and without jeopardizing vital interest, and when others are willing to share the burden.

Getting from Here to There

Beyond the question of the ends is the problem of approach. What is the best way to realize the preferred aims of American foreign policy?

One option would be to go it alone. Unilateralism has the advantage of minimizing the need for compromise and maximizing speed and ease of acting. But it is also expensive (in both dollars and people) and impractical. Few undertakings can be carried out by the United States alone. Major military operations require overflight rights, access to bases, and contributions of troops and equipment. Unilateral sanctions can easily be circumvented. A world trading system by definition requires the cooperation of others. Supplier clubs designed to curb the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction require near universal membership.

A second approach would lean heavily on international institutions. This notion is attractive in principle, as effective global organizations could help bring about a more prosperous, stable world at less cost to the United States. But institutions require a strong consensus to operate effectively, and in most arenas of international life such consensus is missing. In particular, major powers today do not agree on the rules of world trade, the status of Taiwan, what to do about Saddam Hussein, the desirable level of missile defenses, or the legality of intervening with military force when a government is unable or unwilling to protect its own people. This is not an argument against building organizations where and when agreement emerges—a WTO that is inclusive in membership and comprehensive in what it regulates is surely to be desired—only a call for modesty in the absence of convergence.

Handout 3E

A third approach to American foreign policy is one that is multilateral but less formal or universal. **Alliances**, such as NATO, are one manifestation, although such groupings are rare and likely to become even less common in a world of few fixed **adversaries**. Much more common are informal coalitions of parties able and willing to work together on behalf of a common purpose—be it to rescue the Mexican economy, contain Saddam Hussein, or enter East Timor. Such groupings are not ideal—they are invariably ad hoc and reactive and lack the legitimacy of more formal regional or UN undertakings—but they are consistent with a world where the willingness of governments to cooperate varies from crisis to crisis and situation to situation, where great power consensus is unreliable, and where U.S. resources, however great, are still limited.

Making Foreign Policy Work

What this all adds up to is an American foreign policy that emphasizes relations between states more than conditions within them (on the grounds that one can have order without justice but not vice versa) and informal coalitions to promote multilateral action. In most instances, such coalitions should be headed by the United States, if only because it alone possesses adequate military, economic, and political power.

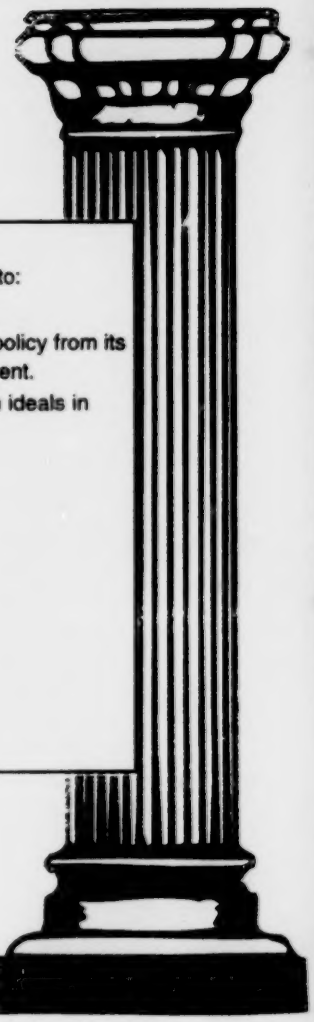
But power is not to be confused with influence. It is not simply that the United States lacks the resources to carry out a unilateral foreign policy, it lacks the capacity to compel others to follow its lead. Any attempt to do so—to assert hegemony—is bound to fail as it will stimulate resistance, something that will make the costs of acting in the world greater and the benefits smaller.

In short, leadership requires followership. Abroad, this means that the United States must be willing to consult with others as to the shape of post-Cold War international society. If negotiations were the hallmark of Cold War diplomacy, consultations are likely to characterize U.S. foreign policy in this area.

Leadership overseas also requires leadership at home. The ability of the United States to be effective requires that the American people and Congress be willing to recognize the national interest over special interests, to make the necessary resources available, and to allow them to be used. Right now, a decade after the end of the Cold War, the absence of consensus abroad as to what should constitute international order is matched by an absence of consensus at home as to what should constitute American foreign policy. Asking the candidates to articulate their vision of both seems only right given all that is at stake.

Lesson 4

Historical Background



United States foreign policy goals have continually evolved over time. Ever-changing domestic leadership and international circumstances have led to some very distinct periods in the history of U.S. relations with the world. In this lesson, students will take a look back in a search for the beginnings of America's global democracy promotion ideals. Students will inspect historical documents in an attempt to determine whether the support of democracy is a new concept, or one that has been present in U.S. policy throughout our nation's history.

OBJECTIVES

After completing this lesson, students will be able to:

- read and analyze historical documents.
- analyze the progression of American foreign policy from its beginnings, through the Cold War, to the present.
- discuss the evolution of democracy promotion ideals in American foreign policy.

MATERIALS

Student handouts 4A–G

KEY TERMS

Cold War	hemisphere
communism	ideology
containment	imperialism
covenant	isolationism
diplomacy	Manifest Destiny
doctrine	subjugation
economic barrier	superpower

PROCEDURES

1. Ask students to identify some key U.S. foreign policy priorities of the past. Ask for three student volunteers and hand each of them a description from Handout 4A, "Phases of American Foreign Policy." Have each volunteer read aloud the information on his or her card and then have them line up in chronological order in front of the class. Have the class identify who was president during each phase. Then ask the class what events caused such large shifts in the emphasis of American foreign policy. Ask students how they would define current U.S. foreign policy priorities.

   Explain that some people argue that global democracy promotion is, or should be, the defining principle of post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. The idea of assisting the development of democracies, however, is not a new one. Tell students that they are going to look a bit more closely at American history for traces of democracy promotion ideals.

2. Distribute Handout 4B, "Comparison Chart of Documents of American Foreign Policy," and divide the class into five groups. Assign each group one document to analyze and give the group the corresponding excerpt from Handouts 4C – G (historical documents). Give the groups time to answer the questions on the chart

about their documents and select spokespersons who will present their findings to the class. Have each spokesperson read his or her group's document aloud, then explain the answers the group arrived at for the chart.

As the class members listen to the presentations from other groups, have them record the information they are learning in the appropriate places in the chart. Once the students have filled in this comparative document, ask them some analytical questions about what it indicates. Is democracy promotion a new idea? In what ways has the U.S. promoted democracy at various times throughout history? Have U.S. national interests remained constant, or do they evolve as well?

ASSESSMENT

- Have students select a moment in American history and write a letter to the editor of a U.S. newspaper explaining why the U.S. should or should not be engaged in global democracy promotion using a rationale from the circumstances of the time.

EXTENSION ACTIVITY

- Conduct a "Past Presidents Foreign Policy Forum." Assign each student one president. *Note: In order to make this activity interesting for students, make sure that the assigned presidents expressed fairly strong views about U.S. foreign policy.* Have the students research the foreign policy of their president and then create a position paper including the following information:
    1. International climate during his term
    2. Major foreign policy decisions or statements
    3. Speculation about his support for democracy promotion efforts

Then have students participate in a forum in which they represent the positions of their assigned presidents rather than their own opinions. Have presidents conduct a panel discussion about a pressing current foreign policy issue. For instance, Washington, McKinley, and Carter might be called together to share their opinions on the Middle East peace process. In each forum, the "presidents" will state their positions and answer questions from the class. *Note: Policy issues selected for discussion should bear some relevance to democracy promotion.*

Phases of American Foreign Policy

Handout 4A

WESTWARD EXPANSION

While other nations amassed far-flung empires, America attempted to fulfill its **"Manifest Destiny"** by expanding across the North American continent. This expansion led the United States into confrontations with other nations such as Mexico, France, Spain, and Great Britain. These countries held claims to the lands to the south and west of the original colonies. The only part of the world in which the U.S. was involved at this time was Central and South America, where the U.S. became a major power.

IMPERIALISM

Beginning with the Spanish-American War and through two world wars, the United States solidified its position as a major world power. During this time, the United States amassed holdings in the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean and also increased its military spending. The role of the United States in achieving victory in World War II elevated it to the role of **superpower** in the post-war political order.

CONTAINMENT

Following the defeat of fascism in World War II, **communism** and democracy faced off as the two opposing world **ideologies**. The face-off took the form of the **Cold War**—a battle of words and warnings between the United States and the Soviet Union that was backed up by a constant readiness for military confrontation. As each side attempted to gain superiority, the struggle erupted into wars in Korea and Vietnam.

Handout 4B

Comparison Chart of Documents of American Foreign Policy

	Monroe Doctrine (1823)	**Fourteen Point Plan** (1918)	**Truman Doctrine** (1947)	**Marshall Plan** (1947)	**North Atlantic Treaty** (1949)
Which phase of American foreign policy does the document fit into?					
What action is the document advocating?					
What world events are influencing the document?					
What security interests are at stake?					
What economic interests are at stake?					
What ideological interests are at stake?					
What tools of foreign policy are employed?					
Does the document promote democracy? How?					

Monroe Doctrine

Handout 4C

Excerpt from James Monroe's address to Congress on December 2, 1823.

> *"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this* ***hemisphere*** *as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security."*

Fourteen Point Plan

Handout 4D

Excerpt from Woodrow Wilson's address to a joint session of Congress on June 8, 1918.

"We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be assured of justice and fair dealing by other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program as we see it, is this:

1. *Open* ***covenants*** *of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but* ***diplomacy*** *shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.*

2. *Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.*

3. *The removal, so far as possible, of all* ***economic barriers*** *and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.*

Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

Truman Doctrine

Handout 4E

Excerpts from Harry Truman's address to Congress on March 12, 1947.

"At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one."

"One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression."

"The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms."

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted ***subjugation*** *by armed minorities or by outside pressures."*

"I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way."

"I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes."

"The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

Marshall Plan

Handout 4F

Excerpts from Secretary of State George C. Marshall's commencement address at Harvard University on June 5, 1947.

"The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character."

"The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole...."

"Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop....Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States."

North Atlantic Treaty

Handout 4G

Excerpts from the North Atlantic Treaty, signed on April 4, 1949, by the United States and eleven other nations to provide collective security against the Soviet Union.

"The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

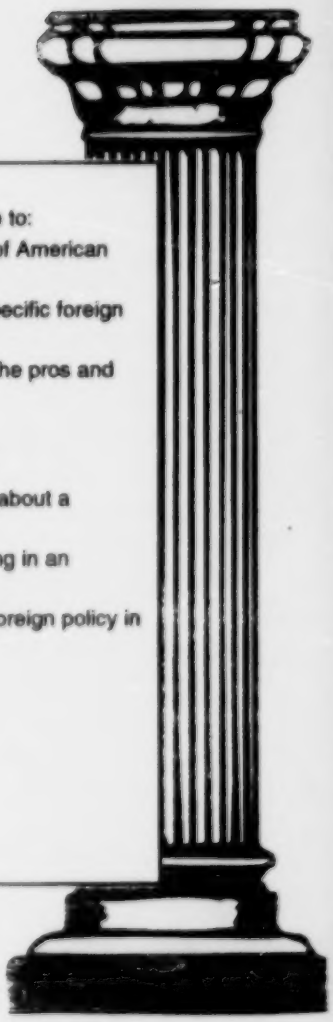
ARTICLE 1. The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 2. The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

ARTICLE 5. The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."

Lesson 5

Mission: Foreign Policy



Having discussed many aspects of United States foreign policy formation, including the concepts of national interest, tools of foreign policy, and democracy promotion past and present, students are now ready to make their own recommendations about what steps their government should take in the future. In this lesson, students will apply their knowledge to real-world situations, working in teams to find appropriate solutions to complex foreign policy dilemmas. Their teams will conduct research on a current international issue, assess the strategic options from a variety of points of view, and make a policy recommendation. A review of the positions advocated by each team will reveal the priorities of the class for U.S. foreign policy in the twenty-first century.

OBJECTIVES

After completing this lesson, students will be able to:

- identify specific roles played by the makers of American foreign policy.
- identify the national interests at stake in a specific foreign policy crisis.
- create a list of possible actions and identify the pros and cons of each.
- assess the likely outcome of each action.
- formulate a foreign policy recommendation.
- gather information from a variety of sources about a specific international situation.
- present recommendations orally and in writing in an organized and persuasive fashion.
- evaluate the defining principle of American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era.

MATERIALS

Student handout 5A

KEY TERMS

Central Intelligence Agency
Joint Chiefs of Staff
Secretary of State

PROCEDURES

1. Divide the class into teams of four. Explain that each team is responsible for addressing a specific foreign policy crisis and making a recommendation to the president. Each person on the team will have a specific role to play, and therefore a specific perspective from which they must operate. While each team must eventually make *one* recommendation, they must work *as a team* to hear all points of view and take different perspectives into account.

2. Distribute roles and instructions to each student (Handout 5A, "Mission Foreign Policy"). Ensure that everyone knows what each role entails. For example, what department does the secretary of state head? What is his/her role in the formation and enactment of foreign policy? Where does he/she get power and authority? To whom does he/she report? What perspective does he/she generally have? What aspect of U.S. national interest is he/she generally most concerned with? Remind students that they must play their roles, and they must, in their recommendation, work to protect U.S. national interests.

Assign a current international crisis to each team, or let teams select one on their own. Ideally, the crises should relate to democracy promotion and cause students to weigh it against other elements of national interest such as economics or military security.

Set a date for the presidential briefing. The students should have ample time to work on the project. If possible, a preparation period of at least a week is recommended. Use occasional class time to check on progress and answer any questions; the bulk of the work, however, will be done outside of class time.

3. On briefing day, give each team ten minutes to present the situation and its recommendation. Each team should also hand in its briefing folder with all the necessary materials.

   After each oral briefing, ask the team what national interests were at stake in its situation. What were some of the issues the team had to consider when making its recommendation? What was the perspective of each person on the team? How did those perspectives conflict? In the end, how did the team resolve those conflicts? Which interests were deemed most important? Why? Would that always be the case?

4. After reviewing all of the decisions, ask the students to reflect on their priorities. Were they consistent? What values did they indicate? How much emphasis did they place on democracy promotion? How much money were they willing to invest? How much risk were they willing to take? How would they categorize the current emphasis of U.S. foreign policy? Do they agree with it? What priorities would they like to see their government emphasize in the current era of foreign policy?

ASSESSMENT

- The students' briefing portfolios should provide an excellent vehicle for assessment. It may be helpful to create a rubric that takes into account the different ability levels of students.

EXTENSION

- Encourage students to pass along their specific policy recommendations, either orally or in writing, to their elected representatives or to the federal agency they determine to be most appropriate.

Mission Foreign Policy

Handout 5A

International Crisis:

Your job as a group is to assess the situation identified here and make a recommendation as to the appropriate action(s) to take. Use the library and the Internet to gather information. You will present your recommendation to the president both orally and in writing. You must keep in mind the three categories of national interest—economy, security, and ideology—and work to protect them at all times.

In order to make an effective recommendation, your group will have to review the situation very carefully. You will need to weigh all the various tools of foreign policy available to you and determine which course of action is most appropriate.

The roles that will be played by members of your group are:

- Chair of the **Joint Chiefs of Staff**
- Chief Economic Advisor
- Chief Political Advisor
- Director of the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**
- **Secretary of State**

Sometimes the priorities of the members of your group will be different because each member has a specific area of national interest on which to focus. You must take into account all of the perspectives in your group, but you will, in the end, make *one* recommendation to the president.

The national interest is in your hands!

Oral Presentation

Your group will have ten minutes to present your recommendation to the president. You must make your argument in an organized and persuasive fashion. Feel free to use visual aids if they will help your presentation.

Portfolio

A portfolio is a folder or a notebook that contains information on a topic presented in an orderly, logical fashion. Your group will assemble a portfolio that will contain background information on your international crisis and a final recommendation as to what the United States should do. Each person in your group will be in charge of specific items to be placed in the portfolio (this information is listed under each role), but you must work as a team to ensure that the material is complete.

1. Include a cover page on your portfolio that includes the names of all members of your group, the date, and your group's international crisis.
2. The first item in your portfolio should be a summary of the recommended action and a justification for that action. This should be written together as a group.
3. Include a formal bibliography that lists all of the sources (including Internet sources) used to complete your project.
4. Place your name on each item submitted.
5. Hand in all of your group's work together in one portfolio.
6. Work must be neat and accurate (spelling, punctuation, etc.).

Roles

Handout 5A

Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

You are responsible for assessing the military and strategic aspects of this crisis.

1. Create a map of the region in which the crisis is taking place. Include important topographical and strategic landmarks.
2. Provide an evaluation of the armed forces of the other nation(s) involved in the crisis.
3. Write an assessment of the security issues that are at stake for the United States.
4. Provide an analysis of the pros and cons of taking military action to resolve this crisis. What is the likely outcome of each alternative?
5. Make a recommendation: Should military action be taken, and if so, what kind? (Refer to the tools of foreign policy.)

Chief Economic Advisor

You are responsible for the protection of U.S. economic interests during this crisis.

1. Present an assessment of the economic issues that are important for the U.S. during this crisis.
2. List the actions that could be taken to deal with the situation (refer to the tools of foreign policy). Assess the pros and cons of each.
3. Assess the likely outcome of each action. Make a recommendation as to which one should be taken.

Chief Political Advisor

You are responsible for assessing the political climate in the United States.

1. Present an assessment of the domestic political issues that are important during this crisis.
2. List actions that could be taken to garner support from the American people and other government officials for U.S. policy and action during the crisis.
3. Assess the likely domestic consequences of the various actions that could be taken to deal with the crisis. Which actions are likely to gain the most support? Which actions will the American public be likely to oppose?

Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

You are responsible for the collection of information that may help end the crisis.

1. Give an assessment of the crisis from the point of view of the **CIA**. Include photographs of important places and individuals involved in the crisis.
2. Create a packet that includes information about the leader of the other country or organization involved in the crisis. Include an evaluation of his/her strengths and weaknesses.
3. Create a list of possible covert actions that could be taken to help end this crisis. Assess the pros and cons of each action, and make a recommendation as to which one should be taken.

Secretary of State

You are responsible for assessing the diplomatic options for resolving this crisis.

1. Give your assessment of the crisis.
2. Provide several alternative actions that could be taken (refer to the tools of foreign policy). Justify the use of each and provide an explanation of the probable outcome of each.
3. Make a recommendation as to which tool should be used to address this crisis.
4. Make a list of international organizations that can help the United States negotiate an end to this crisis. Show how their involvement can help the U.S.
5. Create a diplomatic plan to end the crisis.

Glossary

Ad hoc—an action put together for a particular purpose; not permanent

Adversary—an enemy, a foe

Alliance—a group of nations that have agreed to protect their common interests by helping and protecting one another

Allies—countries that generally work together and support each other

Ambassadors—government officials who represent a country in diplomatic matters

Apartheid—a policy of segregation and political and economic discrimination against non-Europeans in South Africa

Authoritarian—favoring a concentration of power in a leader or an elite not constitutionally responsible to the people

Bay of Pigs—a failed attempt by the United States, under the Kennedy administration, to invade Cuba. President Eisenhower had approved a CIA plan to train anti-Castro Cuban exiles in the United States. The CIA assumed that once these exiles landed in Cuba, the people there would rise up and overthrow their government; this did not happen. On April 17, 1961, 1,500 exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs on the southwest coast of the island. Within two days, the invasion was crushed, and 1,200 invaders were captured.

Bilateral treaty—a treaty signed by two nations

Boycott—a concerted refusal to have dealings with a person, store, or organization, usually to express disapproval or to force acceptance of certain conditions

Capital—the money, heavy machinery, and factories used to produce goods

Capitalism—an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production and on individual economic freedom. Prices, production, and the distribution of goods are determined mainly by competition in a free market.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—the organization created in 1947 under the National Security Act, the CIA gathers and evaluates information about other nations' economies, governments, and armed forces. Also coordinates the intelligence activities of other agencies

Civil liberties—freedoms that protect individuals from arbitrary government interference

Coalition—a temporary alliance of distinct parties, persons, or states for joint action

Cold War—the post-World War II strategic and political struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. A chronic state of hostility, the Cold War spawned several hot wars, including Korea and Vietnam, but was not itself a shooting war. The 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall heralded the end of the Cold War.

Communism—a system of government in which the state owns and controls all property and production. Central planning, rather than the marketplace, determines levels of production, allocation of resources, prices, and other economic issues. Authority is centralized in a single political party or dictator.

Consensus—a general agreement

Consular relations—diplomatic relations between countries

Containment—a policy aimed at preventing the spread of communism by offering threatened nations U.S. military and economic aid

Corruption—the impairment of integrity, virtue, or moral principle; inducement to wrong by bribery or

other unlawful or improper means

Covenant—a formal, solemn, and binding agreement

Covert action—a secret action

Cuban Missile Crisis—In October 1962, an American U-2 spy plane photographed Soviet nuclear missiles stationed in Cuba, just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. President Kennedy demanded that Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev remove the missiles, and announced a naval blockade of the island. A standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union ensued, each afraid that the other might initiate a nuclear war. After several days, Khrushchev backed down and agreed to remove the missiles. In return, Kennedy pledged never again to invade Cuba, and removed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) from Turkish bases near the Soviet border.

Democracy—a system of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation

Détente—the easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s

Dictator—one holding complete autocratic control; one ruling absolutely and often oppressively

Diplomacy—the art and practice of carrying out communications and relations between nations

Diplomat—a person who is employed or skilled in diplomacy

Diplomatic recognition—the formal acknowledgment of the legitimacy of a foreign government

Doctrine—a principle or position or the body of principles in a branch of knowledge or system of belief

Economic aid—aid provided to another country in the form of money or goods

Economic barriers—regulations that serve to hinder free trade, for example, high tariffs (taxes) or quotas (which limit the amount of goods that can be imported)

Economic development—projects designed to strengthen an area's economy and employment base

Economic freedom—the ability of people to make their own financial decisions, such as how to spend, how much to save, and where to invest

Economy—the structure of economic life in a country, area, or period of time

Embargo—a legal prohibition on trade

Embassy—an ambassador's official residence and offices in a foreign country

Expansionism—the policy the United States used in extending its territories to the Pacific Ocean and beyond

Exports—commodities that are sent abroad for the purposes of trade

Foreign aid—assistance given to other nations, usually in the form of military, economic, or humanitarian aid

Foreign policy—a systematic and general plan that guides the nation's attitudes and actions toward the rest of the world. It includes the military, commercial, and diplomatic position and actions a nation takes in its relationship with other countries.

General strike—a strike by workers in many different industries at the same time

Hegemony—very strong influence or authority, especially of one nation over others

Hemisphere—the northern or southern half of the earth divided by the equator or the eastern or western half divided by a meridian

Humanitarian—promoting human welfare and social reform

Human rights—fundamental rights that everyone has just because they are human

Ideology—the basic beliefs of an individual, group, or culture

Immigration—the movement of people from one country to make a home in another country

Imperialism—the policy or practice of extending the power and dominion of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisition, or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas

Incentive—a motive; something that will cause a particular action

Isolationism—a policy that seeks to avoid relations with other countries as much as possible

Jingoistic—displaying extreme chauvinism or nationalism marked especially by a belligerent foreign policy

Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)—a committee made up of the top-ranking officers in the military, including the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs is appointed for a two-year term by the president. The JCS oversee the armed forces and advise the president on military security issues.

Liberalization—the process of becoming progressive, believing in the essential goodness of people and in the autonomy of the individual, and standing for the protection of political and civil liberties

Manifest Destiny—a future event accepted as inevitable, especially the nineteenth century expansion of the United States toward the Pacific Ocean. The phrase was used by *New York Post* editor John L. O'Sullivan when he described America's passion for westward expansion as "our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the develop ment of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us."

Mariel Boatlift—In 1980, Cuban president Fidel Castro signed an agreement with the United States to allow Cubans to emigrate to the U.S. Approximately 125,000 refugees, many of them mental patients and former prisoners, departed the Port of Mariel to sail to Florida. Despite public opposition, President Carter agreed to admit them.

Martial law—the law administered by military forces

Marxism-Leninism—a theory and practice of communism developed by Vladimir Lenin from the doctrines of Karl Marx. Marx advocated a system of collective ownership of property and the collective administration of power for the common good.

Migration—the movement of people from one country, place, or locality to another

Most-Favored-Nation trading status (MFN)—Normal import-tariff status of U.S. trading partners. Anything less than MFN really amounts to a U.S. protest against the international trade behavior of a country. The name of normal trade status has changed from MFN to Normalized Permanent Trade Relations.

Multilateral treaty—a treaty signed by three or more countries

Multiparty system—a political system involving more than two parties

National interest—that which is best for a country as a whole. National interest is made up of three components: economy, security, and ideology. To determine what is in the national interest, a community needs agreement on its goals and the extent to which any proposed action contributes to those goals.

Nationalist—intense loyalty and devotion to a nation

Normalized Permanent Trade Relations (NPTR)—Normal import-tariff status of U.S. trading partners. Anything less than normal trade status really amounts to a U.S. protest against the international trade behavior of a country. This used to be called Most-Favored Nation trading status (MFN).

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—a free trade agreement between Canada, the United States, and Mexico. The agreement, which gradually reduces barriers on farm products and manufactured goods, took effect January 1, 1994.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—a defensive alliance of western nations, created in April 1949 to guard against communism. The North Atlantic Treaty, which created NATO, states that "the parties

agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all."

Overflight rights—the right of the aircraft of one country to fly over the territory of another country

Primacy—the state of being first in rank, order, or importance

Proliferation—rapid growth in number or quantity

Propaganda—a message that is meant to influence people's ideas, opinions, and actions in a certain way

Radio Marti—a radio station owned by the United States government that sends short wave radio broadcasts to Cuba for the purpose of educating Cuban people about the United States and its government policies. The Cuban government occasionally scrambles the signals to prevent the broadcasts from reaching Cuban citizens.

Realpolitik—politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives

Rule of law—the condition in which everyone, including those in government, must live under the law and are accountable to it. The law is equally, fairly, and consistently enforced.

Sanction—a measure such as witholding loans, arms, or economic aid to force a foreign government to cease certain activities

Secretary of State—the head of the Department of State. Supervises the diplomatic activities of the United States. Frequently travels abroad to meet with officials from other countries.

Security—protection against espionage, sabotage, crime, or attack.

Standard of living—the number and kinds of goods and services available to people

Star Wars—the nickname for the Strategic Defense Initiative, President Reagan's 1983 proposal to create an orbiting weapons system that would provide a shield against an intercontinental ballistic missile attack. The development and deployment of such a project was projected to cost between $100 and $200 billion.

Strike—a work stoppage by a group of workers to enforce compliance with demands made on an employer

Subjugation—the process of being forced to submit to control and governance

Subsidiary—a company wholly controlled by another

Summit—a conference of high-level officials, especially the heads of government

Superpower—an extremely powerful nation, specifically, one of very few dominant states in an era when the world is divided politically into these states and their satellites

Terrorism—the use or threat of violence to spread fear, usually for the purpose of reaching political goals

Tools of foreign policy—the instruments or strategies that are available to leaders in the execution of foreign policy

Trade—the business of buying, selling, and bartering commodities

Transparency—a condition in which government operates in an open manner that allows citizens to be aware of what is happening. A transparent government holds meetings that are open to the public, allows people and the press access to information, and is held accountable to the people.

Treaty—a formal agreement with another country

TV Marti—television broadcasts, sponsored by the United States government, sent to Cuba with the purpose of informing and educating Cubans about the United States and its policies. The signals are frequently scrambled by the Cuban government.

Unilateral action—an action taken by one country acting alone, without the approval or assistance of other nations

Union—an organization of workers formed for the purpose of advancing its members' interests with respect to wages, benefits, and working conditions

United Nations (UN)—an international organization, established in 1945, that is committed to preserving peace through international cooperation and collective security.

World Trade Organization (WTO)—a global organization, established in 1993, that works to settle trade disputes among nations

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